159 barley (xghir) fluctuate but cake-feed is all bought from
• 432 fodder agents. Milk production varies with season, being
234 at its peak in the Spring. The price given by the M.M.U. changes accordingly to the extent of a few pence per gallon. On the basis of an average feed programme one can get some idea of the gross profit margin on which Pawlu is working, the absence of any allowance for labour costs being noted.

*159 A sample feed programme with daily costs for one cow
234 yielding about three gallons:
43

	s	d
3 rtal xghir (barley-bran)	1	4
8 rtal cake.....	3	6
5 rtal sulla (silla).....	1	4
8 rtal beans (¼ tomna)....	5	0
1 basket prickly pear.....	1	0
½ basket straw.....		6
	12	8d

Selling the three gallons at 5s 6d per gallon (see above) brings in 16s 6d per day, leaving a profit on the one cow of 3s 10d.

A sample feed programme with daily costs for 46 goats yielding about ten gallons per day:

	£	s	d
3 tmien (48 rtal) beans....	1	10	0
1 tomna xghir (barley).....		6	0
4 bundles sulla (silla)....		5	0
Furrajna (green barley)....		5	0
	2	6	0

Selling ten gallons per day at some 6s per gallon thereby brings Pawlu a further profit of 60s minus 46s, or 16 shillings. This, together with the 3s 10d from each of his two cows, amounts to a net income of approximately 23/8d per day.

*159 Unlike most of his fellow herdsmen in both Islands,
156 Pawlu is fully aware of the relation between feed programmes
234 for livestock and milk yields (B/379). He does not share
232 the common view that "The more the feed the more the milk". He is also well aware of the economics of his situation as described above and, as seen, his aim is to cut the costs of fodder by producing more on his own holding and thereby increase his profit margin on milk sold. This is a most widespread feature among Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen today. But Pawlu goes further than most in that he is conscious of the need for a 'balanced diet'. Not only does he carefully regulate the types and quantities of feed which he gives but he also follows the latest researches of the Department of Agriculture, especially that of Haesler (B/252) and others working on this and similar topics. The average illiterate Maltese farmer tends to dismiss the statements and efforts of such experts as "No good for Malta, and

159 434 Present relative prosperity due to personal acumen, interest in stock and to guaranteed prices maintained by M.M.U. No great need for capital nor much possibility of accumulating capital. Utilises marginal land and family labour in a reasonably efficient way within local conditions. Will not be succeeded by sons, but represents a not unsatisfactory temporary response to the socio-economic conditions which have increased the production of fresh milk in Malta.

CASE V : Anglu (A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.)

Anglu supports a wife and ten children on the proceeds of the milk of some four dozen goats. His serious financial position shows no possibilities of improvement.

159 231 443 512 551 [656] His father was a herdsman and sold milk from door to door in Valletta from a base in the defensive ditch or "fossa" round the city which, incidentally, earned the family the nickname of "Tal-fosa". Some sixty years ago the Government forbade the keeping of goats in Valletta and the family moved some two miles. They continued to take their milk into the capital however until pasteurization began in 1938[41] and Valletta became a "Closed Area" (v. Case IV). Since then Anglu has endeavoured to make a living on the milk sold to the M.M.U.

159 423 434 [432] Unfortunately, however, he does not have a substantial land-holding which he can put to the production of fodder crops. He must thereby buy in all his requirements and spends some £400 per year on various types of fodder against a total annual income from the milk of £750. The only supplementary item of profit is a small quantity of prickly pear fruit sold from door to door near his farm. He himself holds a single tomna of cultivable land which barely supplies his own family with a few vegetables. The position of his farm within the urban area makes it impossible for him to obtain additional cultivable plots to put to fodder. They are both scarce and subject to pilfering in such a district. Moreover, the position far from grazing land is a serious drawback for, as he observes, "grazing improves the yield of milk."

159 452 Anglu's farm and family budget is dominated by DEBT (v. Section 3). The fodder has to be purchased from agents who will give credit terms. Other farmers would accept a smaller price but would demand cash on delivery. The bills for fodder and other items are settled as the money from the M.M.U. comes in (fortnightly, in most cases) but Anglu's account never shows a credit balance although it fluctuates from season to season. The table given in the Summary illustrates the progress of his debt over some nine months of 1957. It shows that on 1.9.1957 he still owed nearly £80 to one of his two dealers. This was not finally paid

* 159 241 **B. Utilisation.**

Most of the 1 tomna of cultivated land is permanently used for potatoes intended for domestic use. There are also a few patches of garlic, beans, onions and other vegetables. A few vines and prickly pear plants give some saleable produce e.g. prickly pear fruit sold from door to door fetched £10 in 1956.

* 159 23 234 **C. Livestock.**

November 1956:
45 goats, 7 kids, 2 billies, 1 horse, 24 hens and rabbits.
November 1956 to July 1957:
15 goats died.
July 1957:
50 goats.
September 1957:
48 goats, 11 kids, 1 billy.
November 1957:
25 milking goats, 10 kids.

* 159 182 **D. Capital.**

(i) No freehold property and little equipment except for cart.
(ii) In perpetual debt - probably between £60 and £100 behind in outgoings at any one time (v. Table 5).
(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[27] food gifts.

* 159 464 **E. Labour.**

No family labour. Of 10 surviving children, only two are above school-leaving age and they have non-agricultural employment.
- Hires no labour or machinery.

* 159 434 234 [433] **F. Production and Sales.**

(v.Table 5)
(i) Goats milk sales range from December minimum of c.20 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day (1957).
Typical annual pattern of usage in recent years:
2500 gallons sold to M.M.U. (@ average price 5/9 per gall.)
200 gallons sold privately (@ average price c.5/6 per gall.)
200 gallons used domestically.
Gross income from milk sales are of the order of £750 p.a.
Known expenditure on feed of the order of £400 p.a.
Net income probably less than £200 p.a.
● [432] (ii) Sales of old milch goats and kids fluctuate with condition of herd and with disease. In 1957 10 diseased goats fetched 70/- each and 5 kids c.10/- each. Replacements cost between £8 and £20 for Maltese-Saanen goats in milk.

* 159 232 234 **G. Husbandry.**

(i) Livestock Feeding. Typical pattern:
50 goats receive 4 bundles sulla, 25 lbs. beans and 50 lbs. cake in summer. During winter more greens and less beans. Very little grazing.
(ii) Herd suffers badly from pregnancy and after-birth diseases and also from abortion. No prophylactic or remedial measures known to the farmer who, like most of his type, merely tries to sell sick stock for slaughtering and replaces with new.
(iii) No real control of lactations and most of milking goats are mated between September and February. Is reluctant to try summer serving since suffering losses in 1956. Regards yield of 2 lbs. per day as minimal.

600 authorities each year.

*159 494 234 434 [432] Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me". Both his grandfather and father were herdsmen with goats but it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment of his herd of cows, together with improvements to the accommodation for the animals. [454]

*159 423 234 [427] Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old, and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop his own property since the war in order to qualify for the necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village. This is typical of the majority of farm units based on livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be housed at some distance from the family living quarters, a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 342 351 423 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead off to the ground floor living rooms, to the goat shed and cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room, to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street. From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are typical with their intensive use of available space and maximum building development on the portion owned by the farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of continued rented tenure (v.Map 8).

days people fasted full forty days" (Ġamri); (ii) the Friday Fast - it is forbidden to eat meat on Fridays and preferable to avoid it on Wednesdays also; and (iii) Special Fasts. These include the 'Change of Season' fasts and a variety of Saints' Days, special personal observances and certain occasional fasts designated by the Church authorities. The emphasis is on self-denial in all fasts. Meat, confectionary and 'extra' items are strictly avoided, and the quantity of permitted foods is also reduced. Nothing is eaten between the frugal meals.

The timing of meals throughout the day is variable in Ġamri's family. Rarely does he sit down to table with his wife and children, whose routine has to accommodate school time-tables, etc. On non-fast days breakfast consists of bread and coffee. Lunch is taken about noon - or an hour or so earlier on fast-days. If he is working in the fields Ġamri may have a loaf of bread, with oil, cheese, figs, olives, chickpeas and corn beef or some fish, or some cooked meal may be brought out to him by one of the women or girls. Sweet black coffee or home-made wine are the staple drinks, and the meal is normally followed by a siesta of at least one hour. The time of the evening meal depends on the nature and pressure of work in hand and consists of a stew (especially where the lunch had been a cold meal in the fields). At all times food is used carefully. It is never wasted. Even produce of the farm such as eggs are "only given to the boys occasionally" (Ġamri).

The proportion of food purchased is now much greater than even a generation ago in this type of family. The same is true of clothing. Clothing has changed very considerably both in style and variety since Ġamri's father was a young farmer when half the people in the village had looms and many had spinning wheels to produce cotton garments for the family or other villagers. The old style of dress of the farmer consisted of knee-length, white cotton trousers, a thick woollen vest, waistcoat and cummerbund. The locally produced sheep's wool vest has been largely replaced by army surplus types of shirts. Garments of Maltese cotton and wool are now rarely seen except on the oldest men, who have been wearing them since they were much younger. The use of army surplus clothing has become very common since 1945 and the travelling drapers' vans, local shops and the Sunday markets (Valletta and Rabat) now do a considerable trade in both made up garments and materials of this type.

With the increasing contact between town and country the farmer has come to want smarter suits for his brief leisure hours. The younger generation of countryfolk no longer venture to the capital unless they are dressed like townsmen - suit, tie, shoes and so on. This increase in the

000

was taken for granted.

*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven in his district. Not prepared to accept anything technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly on the ground that "it is not used here".

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*159 CASE XII : Ċenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

557 Ċenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the

241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed

234 village weighman is important both because of the extra in-

[463] come which it brings and on account of the social standing which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and

[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to

[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45

[727] War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local standards and Ċenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged during the War and he received some £1800 official compensation to which he added a further £1200. This money was put towards the new house and towards the costs of building

*159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The

234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic

434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.

241 In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space

[432] once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his

829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the

474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to

[451] discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders. This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the